

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SIG-03 MMO-01 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01  
CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 EB-08 ACDA-12 /096 W  
-----089081 040534Z /11

R 031951Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4086  
INFO SECDEF WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION USNATO  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 03518

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PEPR, NATO, SP, US  
SUBJECT: EXCHANGE WITH PSOE'S SOLANA ON HIS RECENT U.S.  
TRIP AND POST-TRIP STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS

REF: MADRID 3285 (NOTAL); MADRID 3148 (NOTAL)

1. PSOE DEFENSE SPECIALIST LUIS SOLANA TOLD EMBOFFS  
MARCH 30 THAT HE AND CO-TRAVELER ENRIQUE MUGICA  
CONSIDERED THEIR RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO HAVE  
BEEN HIGHLY POSITIVE, AND SOLANA EXPRESSED HIS  
GRATITUDE TO THE EMBASSY AND TO THOSE IN WASHINGTON  
WITH WHOM THEY HAD MET AND WHO HAD ARRANGED THEIR PROGRAM.  
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THEIR MINDS WERE NOT CHANGED ABOUT NATO, HE SAID, BUT  
PERHAPS MUGICA WAS SOMEWHAT MORE PERSUADED THAN HE.  
THEIR MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON, WHICH HAD BEEN FREE OF  
PRESSURE, HAD CAUSED THEM TO THINK MUCH MORE DEEPLY ABOUT  
SPAIN'S FUTURE DEFENSE NEEDS AND POSTURE.

2. THEY WERE MORE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE PSOE'S FINAL

DECISION ON THESE QUESTIONS MUST STAND THE TEST OF PRACTICALITY AND COULD NOT BE TAKEN WITHOUT CONSIDERING US VIEWS. AS SOLANA PUT IT, "WE NOT ONLY NEED A DOMESTIC CONSENSUS, WE ALSO NEED A CONSENSUS WITH THE US." HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE PERSONALLY STILL HAD NOT COME UPON THE APPROPRIATE "MODEL" FOR SPANISH DEFENSE, BUT HE (AND THE PARTY) CONTINUED TO SEE THIS MODEL INVOLVING A "EUROPEAN" DEFENSE POSTURE INDEPENDENT OF NATO.

3. IN ORDER TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT, EMBOFFS THEN TOOK UP WITH SOLANA SOME OF THE STATEMENTS CONCERNING HIS MEETINGS IN THE US WHICH HE REPORTEDLY HAD MADE TO THE PRESS SINCE HIS RETURN (REFTELS):

4. THE NATO INVITATION. CONCERNING HIS ASSERTION THAT THE US WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO TENDER AN INVITATION TO SPAIN UNLESS THERE WERE A SUBSTANTIAL SPANISH PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF MEMBERSHIP, EMBOFFS POINTED OUT THAT THE US HARDLY WOULD RESPOND NEGATIVELY TO A PRD-MEMBERSHIP DECISION TAKEN DEMOCRATICALLY BY A SOVEREIGN SPANISH GOVT. AS SOLANA KNEW, WE HAD SIMPLY EXPRESSED OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE GOS'S PUBLICLY EXPRESSED INTENT TO SEEK MORE THAN A NARROW MAJORITY ON SUCH A BASIC ISSUE. SOLANA RESPONDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD OUR POSITION, ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED SOMETHING LIKE A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY SHOULD BE REQUIRED, BUT THAT CERTAIN OF THEIR INTERLOCUTORS IN CONFIDENTIAL

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WASHINGTON HAD INDEED EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBLE RAMIFICATIONS OF A NARROW PRO-MEMBERSHIP DECISION ON SPAIN'S PART.

5. A CONTINUING FRANCOIST FOREIGN POLICY. EMBOFFS STRESSED TO SOLANA THAT, CONTRARY TO HIS PUBLIC ASSERTION THAT STATE DEPT OFFICIALS CONSIDERED UCD AND GOS DEFENSE POLICY TO BE NO DIFFERENT FROM FRANCOIST POLICIES, THIS WAS CERTAINLY NOT THE CASE AND WE WERE CONFIDENT THAT NO ONE IN THE DEPT HAD MADE SUCH A STATEMENT. SOLANA RESPONDED THAT HE HAD BEEN MISQUOTED BY THE PRESS, AND THAT HE HAD TOLD REPORTERS THAT HE PERSONALLY HELD THAT VIEW, NOT THAT IT WAS ADVANCED BY ANY OF HIS WASHINGTON INTERLOCUTORS.

6. DELAYED F-16 AND OTHER ARMS DELIVERIES. EMBOFFS POINTED OUT TO SOLANA INCORRECTNESS OF HIS IMPLICATIONS THAT IN SPITE OF PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY, U.S. HAD FAILED TO OFFER REASONABLE DELIVERY SCHEDULE FOR F-16'S; THE GOS HAD NOT REQUESTED THE F-16. ACCORDING TO SOLANA, HE HAD RAISED THE ISSUE AT THE URGING OF DEFENSE MINISTER GUTIERREZ MELLADO.

7. FIRST POLITICIANS TO RAISE TREATY ISSUES? SOLANA'S REPORTED CLAIM THAT HE AND MUGICA WERE THE FIRST TO HAVE RAISED TREATY IMPLEMENTATION QUESTIONS AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL WITH THE USG SINCE THE JUNE 1977 ELECTIONS WAS INACCURATE, EMBOFFS SAID. THE TREATY WAS THE SUBJECT OF REGULAR EXCHANGES IN MADRID AND WAS DEALT WITH, FOR EXAMPLE, AT THE LAST US-SPANISH COUNCIL MEETING IN NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER 1977, WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA. SOLANA RESPONDED THAT WHAT HE HAD ACTUALLY SAID WAS THAT HE AND MUGICA WERE THE FIRST

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MADRID 03518

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

TO TAKE UP WITH US OFFICIALS THE GLOBAL QUESTION OF  
SPAIN'S FUTURE DEFENSE ORIENTATION.  
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8. THE CONVERSATION THEN TURNED BRIEFLY TO SOLANA'S  
PLANS FOR FUTURE ENCOUNTERS OF THIS KIND, AND HE SAID  
THAT HE, MUGICA AND POSSIBLY OTHER PSOE LEADERS WOULD  
BE TRAVELING TO GERMANY IN EARLY APRIL TO MEET WITH FRG

POLITICAL LEADERS AND DEFENSE OFFICIALS. THEY ALSO HOPED TO MAKE A SIMILAR TRIP TO SWEDEN DURING MAY. HE THEN WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH, HE SAID, TO VISIT NATO HEADQUARTERS, PERHAPS IN LATE MAY OR EARLY JUNE, PRIMARILY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF "EUROPEAN" NATO MEMBER  
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COUNTRIES. ON THE BASIS OF THESE TRIPS AND STUDIES BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE PARTY, SOLANA SAID HE HOPED TO HAVE A FAIRLY CLEAR IDEA BY THIS SUMMER OR EARLY FALL OF THE DEFENSE "MODEL" THE PSOE WOULD PROPOSE.

9. WITH RESPECT TO RECENT PRO-NATO STATEMENTS IN MADRID BY FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA AND OTHER UCD LEADERS, SOLANA REITERATED THAT THE PSOE DID NOT BELIEVE IT CORRECT TO BRING THE NATO QUESTION TO FORMAL PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE AND DECISION IN THE MONTHS TO COME. STABLER

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